

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AGR-05 IO-11 ARA-06 ACDA-05

DHA-02 ORM-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02

EB-07 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SIL-01 LAB-04 COME-00

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R 291516Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2744

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LUSAKA 0250

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, ZA

SUBJECT: EMBASSY COMMENTS ON DECLARATION OF STATE OF EMERGENCY
IN ZAMBIA

REF: LUSAKA 235

1. SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS LAY BEHIND
PRESIDENT'S DECISION LAST NIGHT TO IMPOSE FULL STATE OF EMERGENCY.
KAUNDA HAS PAST HISTORY OF OVER-REACTING TO PERCEIVED THREATS TO
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ZAMBIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY AND HE PROBABLY DID SO THIS TIME.

ZAMBIANS ARE GENUINELY ANXIOUS ABOUT SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE IN NEIGHBORING ANGOLA ALTHOUGH MORE IMMEDIATE CONCERN IS WITH POTENTIAL INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEMS IF LARGE NUMBERS OF ANGOLANS, SOME OF THEM ARMED, SEEK REFUGE IN ZAMBIA. THINLY VEILED REFERENCE TO SOVIET EFFORTS TO SUBVERT STUDENT GROUPS MAY PRESAGE DEPORTATION OF SOME SOVIET AND FOREIGN MARXIST PROFESSORS. DOMESTIC ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS HOWEVER WERE PROBABLY EQUALLY IF NOT MORE IMPORTANT MOTIVES. PRESIDENT PROBABLY FEELS NEED TO SHOCK POPULATION INTO CLEARER REALIZATION OF ZAMBIA'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC PLIGHT AND TO COUNTERACT REAL OR SUSPECTED ECONOMIC CRIMES LIKE HOARDING OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES IN ANTICIPATION OF STRINGENT NEW AUSTERITY BUDGET EXPECTED BE ANNOUNCED JANUARY 30. HE MAY ALSO BELIEVE EXTRAORDINARY POWERS NEEDED TO QUELL DISTURBANCES THAT MIGHT BREAK OUT IN PROTEST AT THESE AUSTERITY MEASURES, AS WELL AS TO DRAFT GROWING NUMBERS OF URBAN JOBLESS INTO LAGGING AGRICULTURAL SECTOR. DANGER EXISTS THAT STATE OF EMERGENCY CAN ALSO BE USED TO SUPPRESS HONEST DISSENT OR TO MOUNT WITCH HUNTS "AGAINST ENEMIES OF HUMANISM" WHOM PRESIDENT ONLY VAGUELY DEFINED. END SUMMARY.

2. THERE HAD BEEN NO PRIOR WARNING OF PRESIDENT'S INTENTION TO IMPOSE FULL STATE OF EMERGENCY ON COUNTRY LAST NIGHT AND ALL OFFICIAL REASONS WHICH LED HIM TO TAKE DECISION AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME ARE NOT YET KNOWN. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE A NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS UNDERLAY PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO ASSUME SPECIAL POWERS GRANTED HIM UNDER ARTICLE 30 OF CONSTITUTION OF 1973 AND RELATED PUBLIC SECURITY REGULATIONS TO RESTRICT OR IGNORE FUNDAMENTAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS IN INTERESTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THESE CONSIDERATIONS INCLUDE SOME APPREHENSION ABOUT DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES TO WHICH PRESIDENT REFERRED BUT ALSO DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS ABOUT WHICH PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MUCH LESS EXPLICIT. THESE PROBABLY MORE COMPELLING THAN EXTERNAL THREAT CONSIDERATIONS. IN PAST KAUNDA HAS TENDED -- AS WE SUGGEST HE DID HERE -- TO OVERREACT TO PERCEIVED INTERNAL SECURITY THREATS.

3. SITUATION IN ANGOLA. PRESIDENT AND HIS SENIOR ADVISORS ARE GENUINELY WORRIED ABOUT DETERIORATING SITUATION IN ANGOLA AND WORSENING OF FNLA/UNITA POSITIONS. GROWING NUMBERS OF CUBANS TROOPS BACKED BY SOVIET TANKS, ROCKETS, AND NOW AIRCRAFT
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AND APPARENT PARALYSIS OF WESTERN POWERS BEFORE THIS CONTINUING SOVIET INVOLVEMENT ARE PARTICULARLY WORRISOME TO ZAMBIANS ALTHOUGH THEY SENSE NO DIRECT THREAT FROM THIS QUARTER. ZAMBIANS NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED THAT POTENTIAL INFLUX OF THOUSANDS OF ANGOLANS REFUGEES INTO ZAMBIA (LUSAKA 193) COULD POSE SERIOUS INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEM IN ZAMBIA'S LARGE AND UNDERPOPULATED WESTERN PROVINCE. ZAMBIANS ALREADY BELIEVE ONE OR MORE BANDS OF ARMED STRAGGLERS FROM ANGOLA HAVE COMMITTED MURDER AND

OTHER DEPREDATIONS IN WESTERN PROVINCE, AND PARAMILITARY POLICE
UNITS HAVE BEEN DESPATCHED THERE TO REINFORCE REGULAR POLICE AND
SINGLE BATTALION OF ZAMBIAN ARMY CURRENTLY DEPLOYED ALONG ANGOLAN
BORDER.

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R 291516Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2745

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 LUSAKA 0250

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

4. SITUATION IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. PRESIDENT'S SPEECH GAVE
SOME EMPHASIS TO POTENTIAL THREATS TO ZAMBIAN SECURITY FROM
EXPECTED INTENSIFIED ARMED STRUGGLE IN THOSE COUNTRIES. WE KNOW
OF NO DEVELOPMENTS IN EITHER RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA THAT POSE
IMMEDIATE THREAT TO ZAMBIAN SECURITY. HOWEVER, REPORTS OF
RECURRING CLASHES ALONG MOZAMBIQUE-RHODESIAN BORDER (LOURENCO
MARQUES 73) AND RECENT UPSURGE IN NUMBER OF REPORTED INCIDENTS
OF SWAPO ARMED INCURSIONS INTO NAMIBIA THROUGH ANGOLA HAVE

PROBABLY RENDERED ZAMBIANS UNEASY, AS HAVE LACK OF CONCRETE
PROGRESS IN RHODESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS BETWEEN NKOMO AND
SMITH.

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5. CONVEY STRONG WARNING TO SOVIETS. ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS HAVE
ALREADY TOLD US OF THEIR CONVICTION THAT SOVIET INSTRUCTORS
AND OTHER LEFTIST FACULTY WERE BEHIND JANUARY 15 STUDENT DEMON-
STRATIONS AGAINST KAUNDA'S ANGOLA POLICY (LUSAKA 102 AND 122).
KAUNDA'S REFERENCES LAST NIGHT TO FOREIGNERS INFILTRATING
INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING AND TO SOME STUDENT GROUPS "ON THE
PAYROLL OF A SOCIAL IMPERIALIST POWER" (A TERM KAUNDA PROBABLY
BORROWED FROM THE CHINESE) CAN LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIETS
ARE MEANT. GOVERNMENT-OWNED ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL
EDITORIAL TODAY FURTHER BELABORS THIS POINT ALTHOUGH IT TOO STOPS
SHORT OF ACCUSING SOVIETS BY NAME OF INTERNAL SUBVERSION. ZAMBIA
MAY BE PREPARING WAY FOR DEPORTATION OF SOVIET AND SOME OTHER
FOREIGN MARXIST LECTURERS AT UNIVERSITY.

6. UNDERSCORE SERIOUSNESS OF CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION.
HAVING HIMSELF COME BELATEDLY TO UNDERSTAND SERIOUSNESS OF
ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT, PRESIDENT IS NOW DETERMINED THAT
THIS MESSAGE ALSO BE GOTTEN ACROSS CLEARLY TO THE PUBLIC.
DECLARATION OF STATE OF EMERGENCY IS DRAMATIC WAY OF DOING
THIS. TIMING OF ANNOUNCEMENT LESS THAN 48 HOURS PRIOR TO
SCHEDULED PRESENTATION OF 1976 BUDGET TO PARLIAMENT JAN 30 IS
PROBABLY INTENTIONAL. ACTION NOT ONLY UNDERSCORES SERIOUSNESS
WITH WHICH PARTY AND GOVERNMENT (PARGOV) INTEND TO ENFORCE
PROBABLE AUSTERITY BUDGET IN LINE WITH IMF RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR STANDBY AND OTHER ASSISTANCE (FEWER SUBSIDIES, HIGHER PRICES,
MORE IMPORT RESTRICTIONS, POSSIBLY EVEN SOME MINE CLOSURES
AND WORKER REDUNDANCIES). IT ALSO PROVIDES REGIME WITH
LEGAL AUTHORITY TO MOVE SWIFTLY AGAINST STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS,
OR OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF PUBLIC DISCONTENT WITH MEASURES TO BE
ANNOUNCED.

7. COUNTERACT HOARDING AND OTHER ECONOMIC "SABOTAGE."
PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AS DID HIS REMARKS TO PARTY YOUTH RALLY ON
SUNDAY (LUSAKA 221), ALSO REFLECTED A BELIEF THAT A MAJOR PART OF
ZAMBIA'S CURRENT PROBLEM OF COMMODITY SHORTAGES IS THE RESULT
OF ACTIONS BY UNSCRUPULOUS INDUSTRIAL MANAGERS AND RETAILERS
HOARDING STAPLES LIKE COOKING OIL AND MEALIE-MEAL AGAINST POSSIBLE
PRICE INCREASES TO BE ANNOUNCED IN THE BUDGET SPEECH TOMORROW.
(WE THINK INEFFICIENCY AND POOR PLANNING BY PUBLIC SECTOR EQUALLY
IF NOT MORE TO BLAME.) ONE RESULT OF THIS COULD BE ACTION TO
FERRET OUT AND CONFISCATE SUCH HOARDS OR TO PREVENT DIVERSION OF
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SCARCE COMMODITIES TO NEIGHBORING ZAIRE WHERE SUCH FOODSTUFFS
ARE ALSO IN SHORT SUPPLY AND SELL AT HIGHER PRICES.

8. CONSCRIPTION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR. PRESIDENT HAS FOR SOMETIME
BEEN DIRECTING STRONG APPEALS TO URBAN ZAMBIANS TO RETURN TO THE
LAND TO MAKE ZAMBIA SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD AND REDUCE RISING RANKS
OF UNEMPLOYED (NOW ESTIMATED AT 300,000). DISAPPOINTED WITH THE
RESPONSE THUS FAR TO THESE APPEALS, THE PRESIDENT MAY HAVE
DETERMINED THAT MORE FORCIBLE MEASURES WILL BE NEEDED TO DEPLOY
MORE LABOR ON THE FARMS. HIS WARNING THAT ZAMBIA CAN NO LONGER
TOLERATE "LOAFERS AND BEGGARS" ROAMING CITY STREETS SUGGESTS THAT
SOME FORM OF LABOR CONSCRIPTION MAY BE IMPOSED ON THOSE WHO ARE
UNEMPLOYED BUT UNWILLING RETURN VOLUNTARILY TO RURAL AREAS.
MEASURES TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF IDLE IN URBAN AREAS WOULD ALSO
TEND REDUCE CRIME AND POTENTIAL FOR ANTI-REGIME DEMONSTRATIONS
AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED AND DISCONTENTED.

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R 291516Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2746

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 LUSAKA 0250

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

9. SILENCE CRITICS OF KAUNDA POLICIES. PRESIDENT'S POLICIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE RECENTLY COME UNDER ATTACK, NOT ONLY FROM PRO-MPLA STUDENTS BUT ALSO IF MORE RESPECTFULLY FROM SEVERAL MP'S WHO HAVE SPOKEN OUT IN FAVOR OF REOPENING RHODESIAN BORDER AS A MEANS OF EASING TRANSPORT BOTTLENECK AND OF GAINING ACCESS TO CHEAPER FOOD AND OTHER COMMODITIES FROM RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. PRESIDENT ON SUNDAY TOLD BOTH GROUPS OF CRITICS TO SHUT UP. THIS DISCORDANT CHORUS OF COMPLAINT, AS WELL AS GRUMBLING BY PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN ABOUT INEFFICIENCIES OF ZAMBIA'S PUBLIC SECTOR, PROBABLY LAY BEHIND PRESIDENT'S DENUNCIATION OF
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BOTH ULTRA-LEFTISTS AND ULTRA-CAPITALISTS AS "ANARCHISTS" THREATENING TO UNDERMINE ZAMBIA'S SOCIALIST ECONOMY. DESIRE TO HUSH CRITICS PROBABLY REFLECTS AS MUCH KAUNDA'S INCREASING IMPATIENCE WITH DISSENTING VIEWS, ESPECIALLY ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES, AS IT DOES FEAR SUCH CRITICISMS WOULD ALIENATE AND DEMORALIZE ZAMBIAN PUBLIC DURING TIME OF GROWING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRAIN.

10. PRESIDENT INDICATED THAT REGULATIONS WILL BE ISSUED FROM TIME TO TIME WHILE STATE OF EMERGENCY CONTINUES. AS THESE APPEAR, WE MAY BE BETTER ABLE TO ANALYZE SPECIFIC AREAS OF PRESIDENT'S CONCERN AND TO JUDGE WHETHER STATE OF EMERGENCY IS ESSENTIALLY A TEMPORARY MEASURE TO DEAL WITH PRESSING SHORT TO MEDIUM TERM THREATS OR WHETHER IT REPRESENTS FURTHER MOVE BY PRESIDENT ALONG PATH TOWARD A MORE AUTHORITARIAN FORM OF RULE IN A BID TO TRY REACH LONGER-TERM BUT HITHERTO INTRACTABLE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GOALS.

11. IN INTERIM, OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT PRESIDENT'S ACTION WILL CAUSE SOME GRUMBLING, ESPECIALLY AMONG THOSE IN BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND AT UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE IT IS AIMED PARTICULARLY AT THEM. SOVIETS WILL OF COURSE BE ESPECIALLY UNHAPPY WITH THINLY VEILED CHARGES LAID AGAINST THEM FOR MEDDLING IN INTERNAL ZAMBIAN AFFAIRS. THEY MIGHT SEEK TO PROVOKE STUDENTS AND OTHERS TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST DECREE BUT MORE LIKELY THEY WILL TRY LIE LOW IN ORDER NOT RISK FURTHER DAMAGE TO THEIR RELATIONS WITH KAUNDA AND TO WHAT INTERNAL ASSETS THEY MAY HAVE IN ZAMBIA. ON WHOLE, GENERAL PUBLIC IS LIKELY TO ACCEPT IMPOSITION OF STATE OF EMERGENCY WITHOUT QUESTION, ESPECIALLY IF IT CAN SOON BE SHOWN TO LEAD TO BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF AVAILABLE FOODSTUFFS, PROMPTER

ACTION BY POLICE AGAINST LAWBREAKERS OF ALL SORTS, AND GREATER
FEELING OF PERSONAL SECURITY. BIGGEST PROBLEM WILL PROBABLY BE
THAT OF GETTING CLEARER DEFINITION OF WHO ARE THE REAL ENEMIES
AGAINST WHICH PUBLIC HAS BEEN URGED TO BE VILIGANT. RISK EXISTS
OF PARTY OFFICIALS AND PUBLIC SEEING PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT
AS OPENING WAY TO PAY OFF OLD SCORES AGAINST POLITICAL RIVALS
OR UNPOPULAR GROUPS LIKE THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES AND ASIAN
MERCHANTS BY DENOUNCING THEM TO AUTHORITIES FOR ARREST AND
DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. HOW WELL STATE OF EMERGENCY CAN BE
ENFORCED WITHOUT STIMULATING WITCH HUNTS AND DOING SERIOUS DAMAGE
TO ZAMBIA'S RELATIVELY GOOD PAST RECORD (AMONG AFRICAN COUNTRIES
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AT LEAST) OF UPHOLDING RULE OF LAW AND PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS
WILL DEPEND VERY LARGELY UPON EXAMPLES OF RESTRAINT AND
LEADERSHIP PRESIDENT AND HIS SENIOR OFFICIALS CHOOSE TO PROVIDE
THOSE DOWN THE LINE.
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